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565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga*, chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga*, gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga*, an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 576 [516] When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest.

[302] If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

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CLUB DANCE

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The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

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(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

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THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining [302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating [754] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. [644] This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her companions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or [85 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place. If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teutcu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*ululu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed 302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair 386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark [824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *etuetu* (*Hernandia ovigera*), banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce 302 this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used.

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass.

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women.

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder.

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck.

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2′ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending

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796 272 the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tambu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

[292 302] The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in ceremonial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

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New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yalo* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yalo* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

Fishing with Nets

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suvimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ing to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *vutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

Nggoli mbongi. For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Muanaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

Tumata. A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock). [302]

Thothoka. The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

Ndewa. *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outer edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef). While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

Kakara. Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

Kanathe (mullet). When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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[824]

FLOWERS

langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

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Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302

Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

[838]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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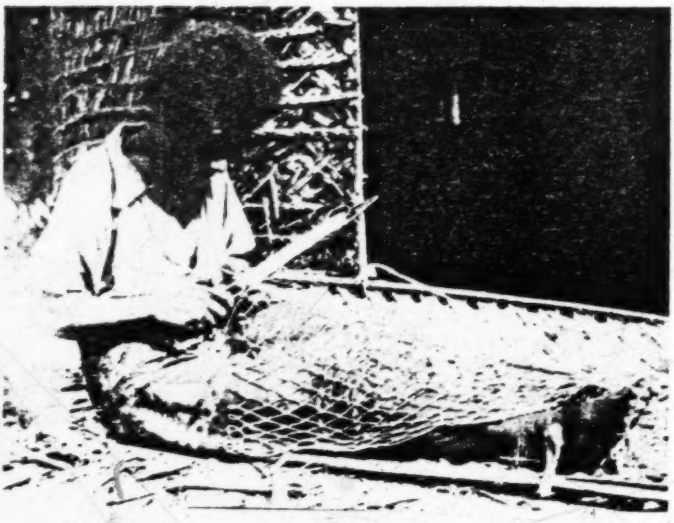
A



B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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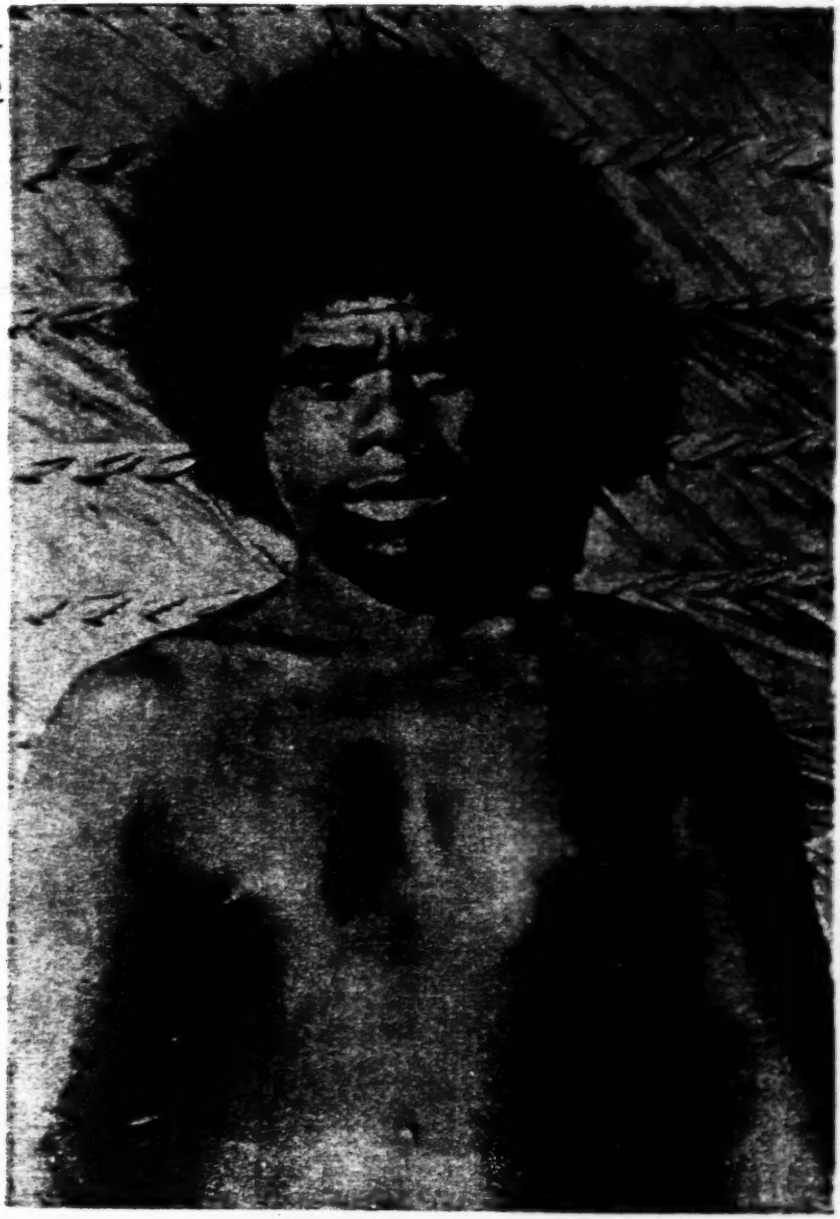

A Young Man From Fulanga

[facing p. iii]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree (*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambārans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

●302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
[142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

● 302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do not know why it is done. Four days later the women go fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first 100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse, nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called *kunekune*. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast. Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first pregnancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth, both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to
the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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VIRGIN LOCKS

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

[Facing p. 58]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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302

A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 776 hill without further help. So they left it there for the night. Now, a young girl named Sulia Meli chanced to come along past the spot where the drum was lying, and out of mischief she picked up the staves and rang a loud call upon it. Immediately Adi Mailagi came out of a tree as a terrible old woman, and snatched her up and broke her leg, so that shortly afterwards Sulia died.

"Yes, truly, Adi Mailagi is one to be feared," said the old lady, shuddering at the vision she had herself called up.

"More often," she continued with a smile, [302] "she appears as a beautiful maiden, and always with the *tobi*,[1] as when she appeared to Emosi, the native minister, when he was walking one day to Daku. She offered him a *suluka* (for that is how she captures a man); but though he accepted it he refrained (being a missionary) from smoking it. And thus Emosi lived, although a great illness came upon him merely for his having touched the gift of Adi Mailagi. And therefore to this day our young men will never accept *sulukas* from strange maidens on that road between Uruone and Daku.

"And another young man who met Adi Mailagi and yet lived was Semesa of Uruone, who once went to sleep with the other youths in the men's *bure*,[2] and during the night found himself

[1] Plaited side curls which are cut off the day a girl is married.
[2] Sleeping house.